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JAMES KENNY'S "JOURNAL TO Y^e WEST-
WARD," 1758-59.

EDITED BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

In the January and April numbers of the PENNA. MAG., we printed the "Journal of James Kenny, 1761-63," which describes his journey over the route through this state to Pittsburgh, with local incidents during his sojourn there. His "Journal to y^e Westward," 1758-59, was made over a different route, via York, Frederick, Cumberland and Braddock's Road to Pittsburgh, during which he encountered many vicissitudes, and his residence there, following so closely on the success of the expedition against Fort Duquesne under Gen. Forbes, is filled with data of much interest.

A Journal to y^e Westward by Jam^s Kenny.

1758 12^{mo} 10th.—This morning received a letter from Israel Pemberton signifying that I might come to Town to Speak with y^e Commissioners for Indian Affairs upon which I went y^e same Day & put up at Joseph Ways.

11th.—Was invited by my friend Is^r Pemberton to take my horse to his stable & come & lodge at his house, informing me that as he thought delays might be dangerous to y^e publick interest in not sending goods in due time to y^e Westward; he was determin'd to send a quantity to meet y^e General to be apply'd as he would think best amongst y^e Western Indians & as some person must go to see y^e goods deliver'd he would send me as one for that purpose in Case I agree'd not with y^e Commissioners & y^e Comiss^s being for having me engage certain for a year as assistant to one not being a Friend I choose to go first more at Liberty so I concluded to go with y^e said goods for Israel Pemberton.

12th-13th.—Help'd to pack up some goods & engaged to go see them delivered—helped to put up goods until evening & loaded two wagons y^e drivers being directed

to go to Carlisle; one set off early in y^e day. I was ordered to set off after them & turn them by Wright's Ferry; so I set off late this evening & reached home at Kennett before day.

14th.—I made some preparations for y^e journey, settling all things as well as I could.

15th.—Packed up my clothes & such things as I had to take that I judged necessary & went as far as Park's Tavern in y^e Valley this evening.

16th.—Set off from Park's Tavern in y^e Valley this morning (my entertainm^t there came to 2^s. 10^d.) having received a letter from my employer to endeavour to overtake y^e foremost wagons & turn them to Wright's Ferry & get y^e goods over if I could & store them up at Jn^o Wright's on y^e other side y^e river. Fed my horse at Jn^o Millars so reached Lancaster where I overtook y^e first wagon as it entered y^e town; gave y^e proper directions to y^e drivers to go to Wrights' and I put up at Sloughs' Tavern.

17th.—Set off to Wright's before y^e wagons but could not get ferrage over, it was y^e first day of y^e week & being kindly invited to stay at James Wright's I put up my horse there, unloaded y^e wagons, it being Snowing & no house to put y^e goods in James Wright's being over y^e river I got them stowed under a large shelter or paint house, by y^e ferry house, covering them with y^e tarpaulins & hired a lad to be mindful of them that night.

18th.—Waited this day to see whether y^e river might be passable, but no encouragement & James Wright going to set off tomorrow to Philadelphia, & my orders being to return there as soon as my bussiness was effected here, he persuaded me to return with him which I agreed to.

19th.—Set off this morning in company with James Wright to Philadel^a; called at James Webbs & he came with us, they two being called upon y^e Assembly. We reached Park's at y^e Ship that night.

20th.—Got to y^e Middle Ferry where we settled y^e charges accruing on our journey of which fell to me to pay 6^s 8^d. Went to my employers & tarried for about two days there, I found Samuel Lightfoot junior, who was to go like wise with y^e said goods as a trustee, to see them deliverd.

21st.—This day rested me & bought some odd things I wanted in town. This day & night there was rejoicing in town about y^e French leaving Pittsburg; y^e city illuminated in y^e night &c.

22^d.—This day I bought me a great Coat & a pair of Boots, as I thought my old ones not sufficient enough for y^e season, it being very cold. This night y^e house of y^e sign of y^e Sloop, on y^e corner of Chestnut & Water streets took fire & was put out by y^e people with y^e help of y^e water engines.

23^d.—Set off this evening after three by y^e clock & reached my friend W^m Bales, about 30 miles from town. Spent at y^e Black Horse 4^d & at y^e Ball had Supper, cost 1^s 1^d for me & Horse.

24th.—Being y^e first day of y^e week I went to Youghland Meeting where Isaac Hollinsworth, of Virginia, exhorted y^e People to resign their own Wills to y^e Divine Will of y^e Great being & not turn away from him. After delivering a letter to Samuel Lightfoot when meeting was over, I returnd to W^m Bales, where I had left my horse to rest & after dinner went to Park's Tavern, where I had left some shirts to be made. They being with y^e Seamstress about three miles off, I got one of their creaturs & went for them.

25th.—I was up before day, called y^e hostler up, got my horse fed & set off in company with a young man from Germantown. By y^e time we got to y^e Sign of y^e Wagon, at Ways, ourselves & horses looked gray about y^e heads with y^e frost, being very cold. We fed there & had our breakfasts. Overtaken by David McConoughy, one of y^e Assemblymen who accompanied us to Lancaster & put up at Slough's, y^e Sign of y^e

Swan, where was Robert Turkness and Benedict Dorsey, agent & assistant sent wth goods by y^e Commissioners.

Benedict Dorsey seemed glad to meet me, having seen me in Philad^a. Being invited by my friend Isaac Whitelock to his house, I gladly except^d it rather than being amongst y^e Military men at y^e Tavern. In y^e night came to town my friend and employer Israel Pemberton, & my friend Isaac Zane, y^e latter lodged with me at Isaac Whitelocks.

26th.—Sent by my employer to Wright's to endeavour to get over y^e goods, but y^e river not passable, being froze on y^e West & open on y^e East side.

27th.—It rained mostly all day; my employer sent his servant George Stamper to me with a letter this evening, I sent a few lines by a man to Tho^s Mitchell who had been prisoner in Canada & gave y^e man one shilling to carry y^e lines.

28th.—Mitchell & his brother-in-law came to me today & being desirous to know whether Andersons Ferry was hard enough froze to get y^e goods over, they living by it; they invited me home with them so I might know for certain, so I went & was very kindly used at Mitchells.

29th.—Returned to Lancaster, having this morning been upon y^e ice which seemed sufficient in strength, informed my employer.

30th.—Three wagons being employed to take y^e goods from Wright's to Anderson's, I set off soon in y^e morning to Wright's & about ten of y^e clock came my employer & Isaac Zane, & y^e wagons came some time after, which were loaded and set off. We got dinner & I paid my former & present charges at y^e ferry house of Tho^s Davis's. With some difficulty got y^e goods that night to Anderson's Ferry, where I saw a lamp made out of a turnip.

31st.—This morning I rode back y^e road we had come

along in y^e night, to see whether there were any of y^e goods drop'd by y^e way, but found none; when I returned y^e wagons were unloading by y^e river & a sleigh ready to haul y^e goods over, so we helped over with y^e first sleigh load,—his man John Stamper & me, y^e Presbyterians helped us after awhile; but whilst I was at breakfast two negro fellows drove right over an airhole near y^e shore, as if it had been on purpose, where y^e sleigh broke through. We got all out without much damage—there was a cask of Lead of about 3 hundredweight, but got it up on y^e ice again from y^e bottom. I took up my lodging with y^e goods on y^e west side of y^e river in a very open house & a son of Isaac Zane's y^t came afoot from Philadelphia, tarried with me. Open'd a kag of cutelry ware that got wet, & dried them by y^e fire. Slept but little y^e ice made much noise.

1759 1^{mo} 1st.—This day my companion Samuel Lightfoot came with account that there was four wagons coming which he had been sent to employ from near to Yorktown to haul y^e goods to Fort Frederick, in Maryland; when they came we loaded & set off; before done loading our employer & Friend Isaac Zane came to us, where Isaac took his leave of us & return'd home; our employer, Samuel & me going to York, leaving y^e care of y^e goods to y^e wagoners, one of whom was a Dutchman. Lost several bars of Lead out of a cask which had a faulty head, but had he gone back in y^e morning he might have found probably, all which makes me suspect his honesty. Loosing my rest y^e night before & riding in y^e night to York, I conceited we turned to y^e East, it being cloudy, & next morning y^e Sun seemed to me to rise West & go on y^e North side of York, as if we had come in at y^e West of y^e Town. So strong was my imagination in this wrong notion, notwithstanding my compass & reason showing y^e contrary very plain, I cannot yet be reconciled, which gives

me great reason to think more favourable of such people as by a wrong education or otherwise have harboured wrong opinions of things, & how hard it may be to convince them of y^e contrary.

2^d.—Through the wagons not being ready to set off, I tarry at Joseph Chambers's where we put up in York, but my employer & Samuel Lightfoot are gone to Carlisle. Robert Tuckness & his assistant are come here with their goods & proceeded to Carlisle.

3rd.—I went to one of y^e wagoners who had some of y^e goods that had been wet in y^e river & got them dried & had all y^e cutelry ware that was wet in y^e kag to scour, as they had got some rust & oiled them; y^e Dutch people helped me, for which & his boy going an errand to one of y^e other wagoners cost 1^s. It snowed & rained.

4th.—Samuel Lightfoot returned from Carlisle & we prepar'd to set off on our journey.

Before I leave York I may state, that y^e day my employer left it, he & I, entered into articles specifying that I should receive as wages five Pounds pr. month for my services on this side of y^e Kittatinny Hill, but crossing them towards y^e Ohio, I was to have my wages increased in proportion to y^e dangers & difficulties that I must be exposed to there & to assist my partner, truly both being bound in one hundred Pounds penalty; he not to discharge me nor I not to quit his service without at least one month's warning; after which we parted, my employer shewing much concern & tenderness in respect of gaining y^e Indians to y^e English interest. We left York & lodged that night at Jn^o Abbots.

5th.—Went through Marsh Creek & crossed y^e South Mountain at Black's Gap, it being many miles through, like between two mountains, not Steep at all but middling level road. Snow a little on y^e ground. We proceeded to y^e Falling Springs, being y^e heads of Conogochegue, & so to Colonel Chambers, but lodged at one Robert Elliots, about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from Chambers's.

6th.—My companion S. L. went back to Shippenstown to meet our employer & returned y^e same night, being about ten miles, came with him Robert Tuckness & Ben^e Dorsey; we parted next morning with them at Chambers they going toward Fort Loudon & we to Frederick, in Maryland.

7th.—We proceed'd as far as Jn^e Mushets, where I tarried for y^e wagons & Samuel went on to Fort Frederick. They were very Civil & there came about twenty of y^e Virginia soldiers & had house room in y^e kitchen; ye people hereaway seemed to regard any soberlike people, but much disaffected at y^e behaviour of y^e military men. This place had a little blockhouse above his dwelling house & was y^e utmost frontier at this place near to Conogocheque.

8th.—The wagons came last night & stopt awhile at Mushets, drank some cider & set along. I followed them this morning & past them along toward Isaac Baker's on Conogocheque, within about 12 miles of Fort Frederick; y^e ford was frozen over but y^e ice rotten in places & in holes. I knew of no other ford, altho' there was one a little way higher up, that was then open. I led my horse a short way & thinking it not safe to lead him, I put up y^e bridle & drove him along y^e fording way, but as I understood after, y^e ice had been broken before at y^e far side by Sir John St. Clair's Coach, it was faulty, so that my horse broke in & got out again & y^e cakes being thick & turning sideways he was wet all over, it being about belly deep. I got over safe & got my horse some corn at Baker's. Went back to meet y^e wagons, to direct them to y^e upper ford, where I found they were come themselves, but just as they came in sight a floe of ice came down over a fall in sight stop'd y^e ford up, but y^e creek open above it one of y^e wagoners named W^m McKenny rode through to me & we set to & broke y^e ice in Baker's side, until we made a way for y^e wagons & they got over safe and kept along their

journey, commonly not staying at night at any houses where y^e people lived. It being late I stayed all night at Isaac Baker's, got good entertainment.

9th.—Set off this morning passed y^e wagons & came to Fort Frederick where is a village of little houses, about 18 I think, without y^e Fort it being constructed of good stonework & high, only one large gate to y^e South & y^e King's Storehouse fronting it on y^e North. In y^e Fort a row of Barracks on y^e East & West sides, & great space in y^e middle. I met my partner S. L., who had put up at James Long's, y^e farthest house of y^e village from y^e fort, but y^e best usage. I had some acquaintance with Long before when he lived nigh to Carlisle. We both went into y^e fort to see where y^e goods should be put; y^e Soldiers were in liquor & imposed upon my partner & one King a sergeant assaulted him by taking hold of him, but when he got loose, he followed me up to where y^e commanding officer Lieutenant Reily was, acquainted him of y^e soldier's action, who came out & pushed y^e soldier away toward y^e guard-house & threatened him. We were shown where to place y^e goods & a room for ourselves in y^e Barracks if we chose. I asked Samuel to take a walk to meet y^e wagons, which we did & met them about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile off, upon which I told y^e drivers that y^e soldiers were in liquor & not to mind them at all but only their own business, which they agreed to. We had y^e four wagons into y^e fort up to y^e King's Store to unload, but y^e same soldier wanted to beat one of y^e drivers only for wearing a green jacket, but y^e Lieutenant pushed y^e soldier down & put his foot on his neck & swore he would murder him if he did not behave better. After he let him up, he was for attacking our carter again & said he must beat him even if y^e Lieutenant killed him for it; y^e carter's brother being there requested of him to leave y^e soldier's sight & go out of y^e fort, but I told him to come up in y^e wagon to me & help me to put out

y^e goods & not be afraid, which he did & y^e soldier went off. We unloaded y^e goods & dismissed y^e wagons & took up our quarters at James Long's.

10th.—A snowy wet day, we examin'd y^e goods opened y^e cask that y^e Lead was lost out of & found about 90^{lb} missing, upon weighing it, it belong'd to Reeter's load.

12th.—This day Samuel went to Virginia, & I found our salt & my dried Apples wet & spread them to dry.

15th.—This evening Samuel returned from Virginia & concluding to go homewards after a days rest if no tidings came from our employer.

16th.—This morning before we were up, I told Samuel that I believed his journey homewards would be stop'd as I dreamed in y^e night of having wagons loaded again at y^e Fort with our goods, so this night we received orders to get wagons if we could & proceed to Cumberland.

18th.—I set out in order to find some wagons & in quest of our landlord which was about Conogochegue buying flour to send to Pittsburgh. Road about y^e most of this day but could not find Long, came to Isaac Baker's & stayed all night.

19th.—I started soon this morning & crossed Conogochegue & went to one Vulgamors near y^e mouth of y^e Creek, but Long was gone to Swearingames in Virginia, so I looked for him no longer, but rode about the neighbourhood but could get wagons at 15^s pr day, which had been their usual wages, but I did not like that way, so they would not agree by y^e Hundred under 16 or 17^s, so I proposed by y^e load, they taking each 13^{cwt} but I could get a sufficient number of them at £10 a load of 13^{cwt} so I avoided closing a bargain with them, letting them know that if we employed them we would send them notice thereof. So I returned home & set my course y^e nighest way from y^e creek to Fort Frederick, passing through many places that were deserted by y^e people, but made my way home about dark.

20th.—It was concluded that I should go into Virginia & see how I could procure wagons there, & might attend Hopwell Monthly Meeting, which I was desirous to do, but y^e ice drove so thick in Potomack that I could not get over; it was bitter cold & y^e river about closing up again.

21st.—Being y^e first day of y^e week, we spent y^e day in reading & sober conversation; y^e family held y^e Presbyterian principles, but not so biggoted as some, nor did not practise formal praying or singing, nor y^e man when at home would hardly say any grace while we were there. I think in sitting quiet listining to some of our books read this night, I enjoyed as great satisfaction of mind as almost ever I have in any Meeting; y^e woman likeing a book of Samuel's called Fruits of Retirement he gave it to her.

22^d.—The weather being now moderate Samuel set off to a ferry 12 or 14 miles down y^e river to go into Virginia, as we heard it was passible, in order to hire wagons there, tho' we had y^e offers of many canoe men to take y^e goods to Cumberland for 5 or 6^s pr Hundred & some offered security, but our employer chusing wagons, we endeavoured to get them. I was a means to save one of y^e King's Flats here today, which was like to be drove away; had her secured in a safe place.

24th.—This day came here about a dozen of y^e soldiers from Cumberland, deserted; y^e Small Pox is very bad there.

26th.—Samuel returned from Virginia having engaged some wagons at 13^s pr Cwt. Lieu^t Reily very bad with y^e Small Pox; I visited him & he told me if I knew his condition I would pity his case.

27th.—Lieutenant Reily died last night. We spend our time now in reading & writing.

28th.—Lieut. Reily buried in our sight as we sat in y^e house; passed by our door, his arms on y^e coffin; y^e soldiers fired three vollies over him; he was reconed a man of great service in y^e last campaign.

30th.—The river being fast frozen, we projected as it was not passable for y^e wagons nor to haul y^e goods on, for one of us to get some help at y^e ferry & cut y^e ice out of y^e way of y^e flat & y^e other go meet y^e wagons, y^e latter fell to me. Hired a horse at y^e ferry house in Virginia side & went off in about 6 or 7 miles, met one of y^e wagons coming, so I return'd & helped to cut y^e ice which we had done against y^e wagon came, so proceeded to y^e fort, being about 3 miles from Hoglan's ferry & loaded that wagon, y^e others did not come.

31st.—I went down to Hoglan's ferry & heard that y^e wagons was to come today, so returned, but they are not come.

2^{mo} 1st.—Three wagons came late this evening & loaded some of them by candle light; y^e fourth y^t we expected has disappointed us, these are Jn^o Jenkins W^m Patersons & James Blars, of Tuscorora, in Virginia, so meeting one Thomas Connely, from Virginia, Samuel agreed with him to take y^e fifth load & let him have 5^s upon it; y^e man leaving an order on our landlord James Long for y^e sum as he owed him for a horse & Long not being at home he would not set off until he seen him or get y^e money, but getting it of S. L. he also disappointed us & left y^e one to answer y^e other, & having taken y^e Small Pox he died of it.

2^d.—I set off in order to go to Winchester, to see if we could have some Pennsylvania money upon exchange at Philadelphia so I had dinner at John Mendenhalls. Lodged at William Joliffs that night, estimated 30 miles from Frederick.

3^d.—Went to Winchester (my Horse lame this morning) got y^e grant of 150^s of Levy, y^e Jew, of Pennsylvania money upon Exchange at Philadelphia; eat Dinner whith y^e Jew at Bushes Tavern & neith^r of us would eat Beacon but I treated him to a pint of Wine.

4th.—Returned last night to William Joliffs & went today to Hopwell Meeting, being y^e first day of y^e week

—went home with Jn^o Ridgeway & stayed all night, being on my way back toward Frederick.

5th.—Dined at Mendenhalls & fed my lame horse and bought a keg of Butter.

6th.—We rest this day waiting for y^e other wagon and on

7th.—Samuel set off to get Tho^s Kenton & packhorses to carry y^e goods to Pittsburg, having received letters to that purpose last night & we have taken a lease of a house at Cumberland.

9th.—This Day Connoly & his wagon was to come by appointment but it rain'd almost all y^e day, so I expect him tomorrow. I went to y^e ferry this evening but no account of y^e wagon coming; y^e ice broke up & very high flood in y^e River.

10th.—I made ready to go after y^e wagons into Virginia & might meet Connoly if coming to receive y^e load, but Henry Paulin just coming over y^e ferry was in danger of being drowned, y^e ice runing so thick & y^e river so high he discouraged to attempt it. As I had my horse saddled & was for setting off Geo. Clark persuaded me it was double y^e distance to go y^e road y^e wagons went, & that by staying a day or two y^e creeks might be passable on this side of y^e river; it being about 60 miles & my horse still lame, I concluded to stay & take y^e nighest course y^e wagons having so long a start of me.

11th.—Made an invoice of y^e goods that remain here, & left a copy thereof with Doctor Henry Hain's being commander here at present, taking his receipt for y^e same & leaving a receipt & article for Connoly to sign, if he came with his wagon for y^e goods, for y^e Doctor to have from him for Samuel, against his return.

13th.—Wet most of y^e night; y^e creeks very high & my horse lame. Set off this morning to Tho^s Mills about 4 miles from Frederick, but y^e bridge being broke by y^e flood, it was in y^e night when I got to Mills's. As my hatchet was lost I bought a tomahawk.

14th.—Lodged at Mills; last night it thundered, rained & lightened. Before morning fell a Snow about ankle deep & y^e bushes all covered with it. I crossed Liking Creek, being very high, early this morning & kept along a path until I came into y^e road. Having no company I set out alone but could not go much out of a walk. Some miles distant I missed y^e old road & keeping y^e new, which was not finished I came to a gut by y^e river, which was very high with back water, and the bridge over it not finished. I sounded it at y^e fording with a long pole I cut, & found it so high I concluded to head it, led my horse up a steep hill above it & then along it some distance I found y^e old Road. In crossing big Chinnalawas my horse blundered, and y^e water got into one of my boot-tops. About noon sat down by a tree & fed myself & horse, y^e wind being high & blowing snow showers. I came to Sidling Hill, it is very steep & high & only a foot path along it & a smart creek runs close at y^e foot so that in case a man should stumble off y^e path, unless he could be caught by some sapling or bush could not stop until he went into y^e creek. My horse lame & y^e snow balling his feet made his passing something doubtful, but I lead him along & got safe across, but in swimming y^e creek y^e water got into my boots & saddle-bags. I emptied y^e bags & walked until I was warm. Some miles further on met some packhorses from Pittsburgh; y^e men told me it was 19 miles to Col Cressap's & I must swim y^e creek. It being late, and about 4 or 5 miles further, I began to look for a lodging place, which I found under y^e side of a great mountain in a hollow stump. After I cleared y^e snow out & made a floor of bark & a great fire at y^e door, I lodged with more comfort than I expected & slept some.

15th.—After feeding my horse & refreshing myself proceeded, but took y^e advantage of y^e old town creek so as not to swim it. Being very cold I walked turn

about & rode until I came to Cressap's, where I stayed & put my horse to hay that night, as I heard y^e wagons had not yet crossed y^e river. Was very kindly used by y^e Colonel.

16th.—Got to Cumberland about noon, it being about 15 miles from Cressaps. Delivered Sir John St. Clair's letter to y^e Commandant, who said they would assist us all they could. He came with me to our rented house, got it cleared of two drunken women, and a soldier that helped to clean y^e house, making too big a fire in y^e hearth, y^e chimney being very foul, it took fire which cleaned it well, without damage. It proved a timely warning to me before y^e goods came.

17th.—I walked up y^e river with Lieutenant Linn, who commanded in Cap^t Paris's absence & wrote to my employer.

18th.—Being y^e first day of y^e week, y^e wagons came this afternoon. I received y^e goods according to y^e invoices, y^e officers & many spectators by. The wagoners complain much of their bargain being cut down by y^e rains, I sent for a quart of liquor to y^e Commissary & gave it to those that tarried all night, they being wet. One of them had an invoice of y^e most of his load which they had weighed at home, as he said by a pair of stilliards that on one side weighed 112 lbs. to y^e hundred, by which that weight overrun ours, but I told him I believed they had a wrong notion of ye stilliards & I cast up their invoice allowing only to be 100^{lb} to each Hundred & it fell some what short of our weight, however, I missed nothing.

19th.—Opened some things that had received some wet & put them in a position for drying. Being asked to dine with y^e officers I went, but did not tarry long. Rain much of y^e night.

20th.—Lodged here. Last night Magnus Tate came from Pittsburgh, being an old acquaintance in Youghland & Isaac Baker came back & lodged in y^e Fort. I sent a long letter with him to my employer.

21st.—The end next y^e fort of y^e Bridge over Wills's Creek fell by y^e flood washing y^e bank away, was mended today.

23^d.—My horse missing this morning, & after hunting this side of y^e creek & over y^e bridge in vain, I found his track over y^e Ford below y^e bridge & followed it along up y^e hill, and about one mile from y^e fort toward home, another track with it. They left y^e road toward y^e river & I lost it, but took a course about a mile further down toward y^e river, where I came upon him & a mare of y^e Captains lying down in y^e woods; brought both back.

24th.—Cap^t Paris spent awhile with me, & I provided some firewood y^e rest of y^e day.

25th.—Being asked I went to dine at y^e Captain's; being my countryman I presented him with y^e little book wrote by y^e New England man & y^e paper y^t was printed in Philadelphia in regard to gaining y^e Indians to our interest, & I gave his wife some of my dried Apples. Was persuaded by y^e Captain to draw some provisions & not buy bread which is so dear, altho our biscuits had come.

26th.—As my oats was almost exhausted & y^e officers persuading me that my horse would in all probability be stolen from me, especially if I took him to Pittsburgh, I sent him off by a Dutch baker that was going home to Conestoga, in Pensilvania, to be left at W^m Joliff in Hopewell, with a letter.

27th.—Came here today Lieut. Scott with a reinforcement of about 20 men from Raystown. He is a young man from Bucks County, also two of my former scholars who were born in y^e Valley & another acquaintance from y^e same place, all seeming glad to see me.

3^{mo} 2^d.—Caught a mess of Trout & Fall fish just below y^e house in y^e River, and y^e Captain dined with me.

4th.—Being asked to dine at y^e Captains I excused myself being indisposed. Snowed some this morning.

6th.—Very cold; I keep close at the house but cannot keep warm enough.

7th.—Very Cold; as I dined today, y^e Doctor called & took a share.

8th.—Some of Geo: Clark's company that had been at Pittsburgh with goods & liquors, called here today, they say they suffered much from y^e Cold.

13th.—One of my old scholars being a soldier came & made me a pot-pie of part of half a quarter of Venison I bought & some of my beef.

14th.—My friend Samuel Lightfoot came this evening; he left y^e pack-horses at Sidling Hill, of which I am very glad.

15th.—Employed Adam M^cCarty, an old trader, & Jn^o Slater to help pack y^e goods & one Campbell helped me to bend y^e lead.

16th.—It rained almost all this day, but we packed y^e goods in y^e house, y^e packhorses lie about 4 miles down y^e river on y^e far side, at a place called y^e Swan ponds, where there is pasture.

17th.—We sent a lad two days since after a man who had engaged to Samuel to come with 12 packhorses but y^e lad has brought a letter from his Son, that y^e father was gone to Winchester & he knew nothing more concerning y^e affair—y^e river so high that y^e packhorses cannot get over.

18th.—We cross'd y^e river in a little canoe (that y^e Maryland soldiers had made to desert in but were stop'd) & Samuel went down to see how they fared, there being three young men Friends in y^e company Viz. Joseph Wright, Jn^o Mickle & James Hammond from York County.

19th.—Having loads enough ready packed for y^e 34 horses employed, we projected to go down with y^e canoe & ferry over y^e goods & swim y^e horses, which was exe-

cuted, so got y^e horses loaded about 2 of y^e clock. Tho^s Kenton came whilst loading, but as he must return to Philadelphia, was rejected from coming after us. Set off about 2, I went about a mile to convey them but must tarry to receive y^e goods to come by James Long from Frederick & remain until y^e packhorses return to take them a second trip, it being concluded to take them this time no further than to a certain place on y^e Monongahela where Samuel is to proceed & get a bateau or two, to come from Pittsburgh there & receive them.

20th.—Last night Samuel returned here having forgot somethings and stayed 'till morning, y^e horses going but about 4 miles distant yesterday. It rained in y^e night & some this morning; Samuel set off again and carried a tarpaulin they had forgot.

22^d.—This morning Lieut. Linn called to see me, & having borrow'd Barcleys Apology of me before, he found how much we were against excess, & calling y^e days & months by y^e Heathen names, & strove to vindicate both, arguing that y^e use of many things that we counted excess helped to promote trade & augmented y^e Revenues of y^e Crown; but upon telling him that such excesses was a means to deprive y^e subjects of an Heavenly King would be no means of gaining a blessing, & on reasoning some concerning y^e names of y^e months & days he gave out & went away.

23^d.—Jn^o Slater, although he is no soldier, received 250 stripes this day & was drumm'd out over y^e bridge not to be seen here any more after six days time, upon y^e penalty of receiving 500, for carrying off some old Copper hoops & old mountings of guns, which I hear he says he bought of a man that brought them from Pittsburgh.

24th.—Returned, Joseph Wright one of our packhorse men in quest of six of y^e horses that stray'd from y^e company y^e 22^d at night about 34 miles from here, they

being within about 8 miles of y^e first crossing of y^e Youghogany. Having exhausted most of their foreage they have he says, divided 5 of y^e lost horses's loads, leaving one load of Lead & carried y^e rest along—fell some snow today.

25th.—We wait for Adam M^cCarty & a man of Geo. Clark's that went out to seek two horses of Clark's & a load of skins that was left near y^e first crossing of y^e Youghogany who promised y^e young man that is to come, to look for our horses as they have not returned here.

26th.—We went up Wills's Creek along Braddocks old road to where it comes through y^e mountain but could see nothing of y^e horse tracks. M^cCarty & y^e other man returned with their load of skins, but have no account of their own horses nor ours; they say that y^e snow that fell on y^e 24th is very deep out about y^e Little Meadows & the mountains.

27th.—I engaged Adam M^cCarty to go back with Joseph Wright tomorrow to hunt our horses, but as it rained much in y^e night & this morning, they judged y^e creeks to be too high.

28th.—We took a walk near two miles up y^e river & it beginning to rain, turned up y^e mountains above y^e river & went across into y^e road that goes to Pittsburgh & so returned, but no sign of y^e horse tracks coming this way; it thunderd & is exceeding warm, y^e creeks too high.

29th.—It has continued to rain all y^e night & this day & night to about 12 of y^e clock it also snowed some. The river rose from about dark until midnight y^e matter of 4 feet. I was under some concern of mind relateing to y^e goods that are on their way coming from Frederick & the people out toward Pittsburgh, their being so much rain & y^e river very high so that y^e most of y^e bridges on Wills' creek is swept off. I could not sleep until near 12 of y^e clock, when I heard Adam M^cCarty,

Jn^o Trotter & Slater and their wives talking & busy out of doors, they moving into an out house higher up on y^e bank, y^e river having overflowed into their houses, but not having y^e good nature to acquaint their neighbours. I being suspicious got up & opening y^e door, saw y^e water coming in at y^e gate before y^e door, made haste & got my clothes on, & my boots, & aroused y^e young man that came back after y^e horses, who was asleep, lighted a candle & got all y^e goods that lay on y^e lower floor, upon y^e loft, only some lead & y^e cask of biscuit, which we put on y^e top of an empty cask; put my bed & blankets up stairs & laid our chest on y^e bed-steds with some other things. By this time y^e water came in at y^e door of y^e house, we waded out about middle leg deep and went to y^e house where was about half of our powder that was left. I went in & set y^e kegs on y^e top of some coal that lay high up, & so we got to a house where y^e water did not reach & tarried until morning with several others that I called up.

30th.—The river rose suddenly & fell as quickly; about ten today y^e water abated out of y^e house, doing us no damage save carrying off some firewood out of y^e yard.

4^{mo} 1st.—Got a horse of Lieutenant Jam^s Gorrell to carry y^e men over y^e creeks & carry their provision & blankets & sent them off this afternoon as y^e weather seems pretty fair-like, to hunt y^e horses. This evening came William Clemmens, one of y^e canoe men that James Long sent with our goods & informed me that on y^e 29th of last month, at night, y^e river rising so high and y^e canoe lay in a gut by one of Cressap's Bottoms & they fastened it with a long rope, as y^e Rain was so constant and went to Cressap's themselves & tarried that night. The back water surrounding y^e Bottom made an island, that they had to wade out from y^e Bottom where y^e canoe lay. Next day as they went to see it with a canoe of Cressap's they found in overset,

by reason of some trees driving down with y^e current. Two of y^e small bales, y^e cask of shot lies in y^e gut & may be got out, and 2 saddles, 12 tin kettles, y^e Gridiron & more lies in y^e Bottom there yet.

2^d.—Upon this account I let y^e man have some provisions as they were out, & was for returning home & carrying what of y^e goods they had found back to James Longs, so I borrowed a creature & went down to y^e canoe & helped to search y^e gut but all was found that lay in it before I came. One of y^e men that I sent off from Cressap's to stay by what was found whilst I dined striped before I got there & waided through y^e gut & found sundry things. I charged them to put y^e things they had found to dry, & search diligently for y^e rest, for they were liable to suffer y^e damage of what was not found. I took particular account of what they had found & let them know what was missing, so about dark returned to Cressap's & stayed all night. The young man that had been sent to look up y^e horses had returned & followed me to Cressap's as I had ordered, having found four of y^e horses, for I was in y^e mind to stay some days to help look for y^e goods, notwithstanding I did not reckon it should be my employer's loss.

3^d.—Returned home & made ready to set off y^e next day to look up y^e other two horses, as we had horses now to ride. Cut up a hide we had in soak for ropes & put them to stretch & dry. I had in view of taking four loads of lead, but declined as I judged it would hinder us to hunt y^e horses.

4th.—Employed Adam M^cCarty to go with us, & not much pasture being here we took y^e 4 horses with us making y^e 4th one to carry our blankets & provisions, searched each side of y^e rode & lodged at y^e Little Meadows.

5th.—We searched up & down y^e Meadows this morning & I walked as far as y^e Little Youghagany, taking another course back, but no late signs of horses. About

noon we set off to y^e place y^e horses had strayed from M^cCarty taking off y^e Road on one side & I on y^e other looking for tracks & dung as we went, letting y^e young man keep y^e road; very intricate place I pass'd through, up hills and down deep Vales, & runs with swamps y^e young man stop'd until we overtook him & so we proceed'd to y^e place our party lay y^e night y^e horses left them. I found a man's skull with y^e teeth in y^e upper jaw, lying in a swamp.—I called y^e place Golgotha.

6th.—This morning found a horse of Geo. Clark's that was left some miles from here in y^e Winter he failing with a load of skins; 10^s being bid for taking him up. I told M^cCarty to bring him along & get y^e 10^s; so we brought him & on this side of George's creek, coming on y^e tracks of y^e horses coming down. Returned to Cumberland in y^e night.

7th.—Being informed by Cap^t Paris that y^e goods was to come to day, such as were saved with y^e canoe, I tarried at home & cut up a hide into ropes, having another cut & drying, in order to have these goods made into loads against y^e packhorses return & sent M^cCarty & Joseph Wright up Wills's creek about six miles, to look y^e two horses as y^e other four that we found made that way, but they brought no intelligence of them. Y^e Canoe came before they return'd & had found all y^e goods only 1 of y^e 4 small bales, y^e 2 casks of Tobacco & a large cask with sundries, 1 keg of Pipes, my saddle & 3 Pounds of Tobacco, 1 Shirt &c.; y^e saddles being y^e most damaged of any y^e rest I took them into my care, letting them have a receipt according as they seemed to deserve.

8th.—Had busy work in sending Joseph Wright off with y^e 4 horses that was found of y^e strays, with y^e remainder of y^e Bar Lead, y^e Hatchets & about 100 cwt. of Shot, each horse having about 150 lb. for a load. Ordered him to proceed until he met y^e packhorses &

hide his loads there & return with them, with y^e same horses & when he was gone had y^e blankets all of y^e large Bale that was wet to spread out, likewise y^e contents of three of y^e small bales, it being a warm day.

9th.—M^cCarty & I packed up goods to day, made 9½ loads up, in order to have them ready when y^e horses returns which I expect now soon, as I heard that Samuel was got to Pittsburgh this day week in order to get a bateau up to receive y^e goods that went out. Here has been odious work to day amongst y^e soldiers with drunkenness & fighting & y^e women also. Some officers being come to 'list y^e Marylanders into y^e Royal Americans & as I believe sent some men with liquor before them, they 'listed I heard nine of them to day. Thunder & rain this night.

10th.—Adam M^cCarty & I finished packing y^e goods this evening & I paid him for two days packing 6^s & for three days hunting y^e horses 6^s. I think I can pack better now than him, for I shewed him methods that he preferred to his own.

This evening returned & came 31 of y^e packhorses, leaving 2 by y^e way, viz. 1 of James Hammon's roan, & 1 of young Jacob Bales gray, that gave out. Received a letter from S. L. dated y^e 6 inst. at y^e mouth of Redstone creek, on y^e Monongahela.

13th.—One of y^e drivers having gotten some hurt on his leg & is inflamed, he insists for this days rest & thinks he can proceed tomorrow on y^e journey out again, & y^e drivers generally insisting that some more of y^e horses are like to fail, having no food but y^e young grass, I allowed them to tarry this day.

14th.—As we had y^e loads out & ready to set off this morning, it began to rain & continues dull & cloudy so we stopt going. I let Cap^t Paris's wife have one of y^e little Brass Kettles, which weighed 2½^{lb}, I likewise, let Ross's wife have one of y^e least tin kettles, as we buy milk from her.

15th.—This being a good day I sent off y^e horses with all y^e goods only 2 kegs of Pipes & 19 packsaddles; sent to Cressap's for 6^{lb} of Sugar as Samuel ordered to get some at any rate. Richard Cocks's mare gave out about noon.

16th.—This morning returned y^e man from Cressap's & brought me only 4^{lbs} of Sugar. Today is very wet & our drivers will ly by.

17th.—With some considerable impatience I wait here for Adam M^cCarty returning with some milch cows he went to buy, one of which I sent money for & am to have my choice when they come. We heard by some that came here from Ray's Town, that y^e Indians have killed & taken some by Loyalhannan.

18th.—After having stayed until today, I went down as far as Coliers this morning to enquire after M^cCarty, but no account of him I returned & got y^e Captain's wife to engage to take y^e cow if he brought one, & pay us y^e money, so I set off about 2 p. m. after y^e pack-horses & walked y^e most of y^e way, so kept on until I got to y^e Little Meadows, some time about y^e middle of y^e night & made a fire, so stayed until morning.

19th.—In y^e morning it rained, but I set off & overtook y^e company in about four miles farther, so they got loaded & proceeded to y^e Great Bear Camps within Seven miles of y^e Big Youghogany. Four loads of Lead being left there; y^e Wolves having destroyed y^e ropes we were obliged to encamp there.

20th.—It Rained a good deal in y^e night & this morning, but abating awhile we got up y^e horses & loaded them, covering each load. It rained smartly whilst we were loading, but I was for getting over y^e Big Youghogany least it should rise too high for us; but we got over safe, one blanket falling off as we crossed & it floating down about 40 perches one of y^e drivers Thomas Mercer stripped all off & waided up to his armpits & brought it out, & so we encamped near y^e

river upon a little creek-side, as there was no more good pasture until we go to y^e Great Meadows. This evening James Hammons & John Mickle killed a bear, which is good eating.

21st.—Proceeded to y^e Great Meadows. Three of y^e creatures gave out about $\frac{1}{2}$ of y^e way, but I tarried behind & brought them along. Put two loads on my own horse, so got them all to y^e Meadows, where is good pasture. One of them belonging to William Underwood died in y^e night; he could not swallow grass when he chewed it, but put it out.

22^d.—Cristy Miller killed two Turkey cocks this morning. Its concluded to lie by here today to let y^e creatures rest & feed or else we cannot get y^e goods to Redstone Creek, as all of them are loaded.

23^d.—As y^e pasture is so good here, I think it prudent to let y^e horses stay here this day also, as we cannot get all y^e loads along without y^e horses that failed last Seventh day & must carry y^e dead horse's loads also amongst them, & as these two days is fine weather, it is some mortification to me to wait. There was an account come to Cumberland before I left it, of two men being killed & four taken near to Loyalhannon; y^e officers at Cumberland advised me not to follow y^e lads & horses, esteeming it too dangerous, but I did not follow their advice.

24th.—Set off this morning & came to Guest's Place & met an express going to Cumberland. I received a letter from Samuel, the express & y^e letter mentioning of many people killed & taken on y^e other road.

25th.—Proceed'd today to a Bottom upon Redstone Creek, about 9 miles from Guest's Place. As our creatures are so weak we cannot go long journeys. It rained some as we went & smartly whilst unloading, but piled up y^e goods & covered them, none being hurt by it. In this Bottom grows plenty of Clover, & I found some pieces of Stone Coal that burns well.

26th.—Came to y^e mouth of Redstone Creek upon y^e Monongahela & piled up our goods & covered them; it rained in y^e night.

27th.—We spent this day in making a bark canoe. It thundered & rained this night.

28th.—Like for a wet day y^e lads killed a deer & a cub Bear. We have made y^e canoe so that I intend to set off tomorrow if so be it is not very wet. I am to take down some strouds & saddles according to Samuel's letter.

29th.—Set off down y^e river this morning with one of y^e hands; took three bundles of Strouds & three Saddles; got as far as ye mouth of ye Youhogany; struck up a fire & tarried until morning.

30th.—Got to Pittsburgh about ten of ye clock this day, where I found Samuel sick of ye Measels.

5^{mo} 1st.—This evening got y^e skins & furs made up & got y^e grant of bateaus & men to carry them up to y^e mouth of Redstone & bring down y^e goods.

2^d.—Bateaus set off this morning; one of our pack-horse drivers entrusted to return wth y^e goods who is to stay here as he can talk y^e Indian tongue. Several Indians have been here dealing, who seemed well satisfied.

6th.—Here was an Indian who had a white woman, he seemed glad to see y^e Quakers & y^e woman mentioned that she wondered at y^e esteem y^e Indians professed for y^e Quakers.

10th.—Here was y^e Crow Indian & family; they are very difficult to deal with & recond thievish.

14th.—Delaware George being lying on y^e Island over y^e River rescued a prisoner that had made his escape, & hollowing to be brought over, y^e young warriors wanted him & was going to kill him.

15th.—Some of y^e soldiers being out hunting over y^e Monongahela, were fired on by some French Indians one killed & 2 missing. A party sent out, who buried

y^e man & found y^e blood of two Indians that was killed or wounded & carried off.

16th.—A party gone in quest of y^e enemy; some of y^e Indians that lay here gone likewise & very eager to come up with them as y^e white men relate. I am about making a dictionary of y^e names of goods in y^e Delaware tongue.

17th.—This day come some pork & 2 bullocks, 2 others lost last night. Received a letter from Lieut. Linn at Cumberland signifying that our Cow had arrived & in y^e care of Capt. Paris's wife.

18th.—Bought a rifle gun of one Donnelson, that came as Packhorse Master. The Indians took y^e other 2 bullocks off in y^e night, as they tracked them.

19th.—It rained smartly & y^e packhorses with a command of men have gone back. The Colonel hired 2 Indians today to go on some errand, but returned having met some French & Indians coming this way.

20th.—This morning two strange Indians hollowed to be brought over y^e river, but upon confessing that they came from y^e French & one of them a Tawa, they were denyed being sent for, but told to come in another canoe that lay in the far side, which when they found we would not send over, they came in y^e canoe, desiring to be taken to y^e Colonel & see y^e Fort, but he sent them victuals & a dram, signifying that as they came from y^e French they must not see him. So they were sent over again by a party of men & a bateau.

21st.—Being almost out of provisions, there was some hints that we must soon eat horses & dogs, if relief did not soon come.

22^d.—Here came a command of men today with packhorses & provisions of which we were not out of y^e need amongst y^e garrison, tho' we did not suffer. Samuel received some letters & wampum. I wrote to Humphrey Marshall, my brother & Geo. Carter.

23^d.—Today y^e command returned; consisting of

about 50 men; Thomas Kenton & horses being pressed & in y^e same company.

24th.—We had some dealing this day with y^e Indians, here was John & Beaver's son. The Colonel & about 60 men, have been over y^e river some miles.

25th.—Here was Philip Powel & 2 of his brothers & another man who had skins & furs to some considerable value. Philip being my old acquaintance was glad to see me; he was like to be wronged out of 15^s by Kennedy. The old trader talking about stealing said he hoped to God he should never be guilty of stealing.

27th.—Came last night from Ligonier, an express that brings account that some of y^e last command from here, were cut off & some from Bedford coming with wagons & provisions were destroyed. Pescattame here to day & states that y^e peace will be promoted amongst them.

28th.—Last night y^e soldiers that lay out were all ordered into y^e fort. A party of about 160 gone off to meet some that is coming. I have been setting Pisquetims raisors this morning; he says he is y^e brother of Shingas y^e Beaver & that they will do all they can to make peace.

29th.—Some Indians being over y^e Monongahela say they were where some of y^e enemy had crossed y^e river to this side. No trade to-day, only a little Mingo man for cash.

30th.—Returned Thomas Kenton & y^e pack horses being pressed again. Six men of y^e company killed as they went to Ligonier & almost all being eat by y^e wolves when they returned, so buried them.

31st.—It rained most of y^e day. Andrew Montour came today wth some Indians about y^e 3 Mingoos that had been waiting here being set off home.

6^{mo} 1st.—Killbuck & John y^e son of Teedyuscung came here, & Montour has sent out several messengers to invite y^e Indians to a treaty. Killbuck is to go to see

Venango & he commonly lodges in our house; he & Montour this night with us.

2^d.—This day a command of many men have gone to Ligonier with Thomas Kenton & y^e packhorses, some Indians gone also to meet Croghan. Killbuck dined with us & told us his mind more freely concerning y^e French then before, & owned y^e odds betwixt our dealing with them & y^e French dealings.

4th.—An express came with secret news from Ligonier this morning & another since. We sold an old rifle gun to an Indian called Simon.

5th.—One command of about 50 men went off toward Ligonier & 5 batteaus are gone toward y^e mouth of Redstone Creek, to bring down provisions. Today three rounds of y^e great guns & small arms fired, rejoicing at y^e reducing of Guadeloupe.

7th.—Two horses came from y^e far side into y^e Island; y^e soldiers brought them over & put them to plow, but this morning both got off hopped together.

8th.—This morning came here old Teedyuscung & about 14 Tawa or French Indians; they made a great show shooting their guns & singing; they informed y^e colonel they came to smoke y^e Pipe of Peace. Some being of y^e Tawa Nation they carried y^e pipe with a wing of some fowl as an sign or flag of Truce, & Sung loud until they got into y^e Colonel's house & there smoked.

9th.—The Tawas & some other Indians with them, live over y^e Alleghany at night & come to this side in y^e daytime; y^e batteaus returned last night from Redstone Creek with provisions. I have been altering Colonel Mercer's account respecting y^e Garrison in y^e Book, as it was in some places mixed with his Indian Accounts.

10th.—The Tawa Indians having made a speech to y^e Colonel yesterday, he answered them today, at which I was present. He let them have some strings of

wampum with good encouragement to quit y^e French, with which they seemed satisfied; he encouraged them to stay until Croghan came & they should receive presents.

11th.—This day we had considerable dealing wth some of y^e Delaware Nation, some of which seem more difficult than others. Here is one who calls himself James Morriss, a little short Indian who seemed very saucy; he was painted wth Black & wanted money for which he & his brother-in-law sold, in order to buy Rum therewith, altho' they had not been here before. Since our people came, they were to go with Andrew Montour to meet y^e provisions that are coming up, where they thought to buy Rum.

12th.—To-day came in a party wth some Pork, being commanded by Lieut. M^cClain & Smallman; they were attacked yesterday morning by a small party of Indians who wounded two men & took one prisoner; one man shot thro' y^e arm y^e other thro' y^e hand.

13th.—I hear it reported that Lieut. M^cC. is on trial to-day by a Court of Inquiry in respect to his conduct in y^e skirmish they had wth y^e Indians.

14th.—Court holds yet & not determined this evening. The company of Tawas came to see us & Samuel made y^e 2 Chiefs some small presents, at which they seemed well pleased.

15th.—Tawas came to see us this day & S. L. let them have 100 of Wampum & y^e prices of sundry goods as sold here. A Shawanese Indian that Interprets for them, informed us that he had seen a new canoe made on y^e other side of y^e Alleghany wth divers tracks. We bought a right sea Turtle this evening.

16th.—Here are two of y^e Shawanese from y^e Lower Town, one of which is called Nanticoke Will; he talks English well, but seems very churlish, he signifies that he has been sent to hear & see what y^e English is about, & by his talk they wish that y^e English should leave

here. He talks threatening this evening. The two Indians who went to meet Croghan bring accounts that he is to be here tomorrow at night, which happens well, as several Indians are waiting his coming.

17th.—Nanticoke Will seems much better satisfied than he was at his first coming; he told us today he heard a letter read by y^e Colonel, giving an account of y^e English's success in taking an island, which he understood was off y^e mouth of y^e Mississippi & other circumstances relating to y^e English proceedings caused him to say, that he thought y^e French would come to nothing now or be ruined; altho' yesterday he was impudent in their behalf. When he returns to y^e Big Shawane town he would let them know y^e truth, as many of them believed y^e English only wanted to deceive them to their destruction. Many of y^e Delawares & y^e Tawas went wth a command of near one hundred men from here this morning, to meet them that is coming with Croghan & provisions. The officers expected to be attacked here by y^e French all y^e men taken into y^e Fort.

18th.—This Morning arrived y^e command with Croghan & many bullocks; Geo. Allen y^e Commissioners Agent; also many Indians have been here waiting for Croghan. This evening there was a Council held & a speech made to y^e Delawares, a long string of White Wampum, at which time a gust was coming up; there was a keg of Rum handed out & y^e Indians drank.

23^d.—Some traffick today; Croghan obliges y^e other storekeepers to sell at y^e same prices as we.

24th.—This day Nanticoke Will came as interpreter with some Mingoos that came from y^e Lower Shawanese Town, which neither understood money nor weight; we could not without offence put them off until tomorrow, so dealt to about y^e value of £12. I am sick with a cold.

25th.—A family with an antient father of y^e Wyandots, came here & one of y^e young men could read some

& write in English. Croghan received all their skins at y^e Fort & came with them to y^e stores & got such goods as they wanted, promising to send y^e skins. Shingas is come & his brother Pisquigon, but y^e Beaver King, their brother is not returned yet, he being gone as we heard over y^e Lake to negotiate, in order for peace. The Shawanes are generally, it is said, coming up, as states a French trader that lived among them called Batee.

27th.—Received of Pisquigon & Killbuck some skins. Yesterday evening Teedyuscong returned from Ligonier with letters, he being gone express, & y^e old Delaware on being asked by y^e Shawanes on his return what news (as I have been informed by Capt. Clayton) answered that there was many Hundred men coming on y^e road with seven years provisions, at which they seemed much amazed. This evening came two runners with tidings.

28th.—It appears from some discourse as passed in our house with Geo. Croghan, concerning y^e prices of y^e goods & skins that he has power to set y^e prices of y^e species in which he varies from y^e Commissioners & finds such fault with their proceedings, that contrary to their pretensions they are for cheating y^e Indians or wronging them in their prices, altho' they accused y^e former traders to be cheats; that y^e Commissioners will loose and not do y^e Province justice, in not sending them to England to be sold.

29th.—This day there was a Dutchman killed & scalped by going without y^e sentry to a spring for water, & a soldier that was in his company very narrowly escaped, being shot thro' y^e shirt, & run close by some of y^e enemy. I seen them shoot three times at him. It is told by y^e Indians, that there is about 100 of y^e enemy & that we are to be attacked soon. One French man is said to have swam over y^e Monongahela above this place & to get opposite to us on y^e hill, where

he viewed y^e Fort, then swam back down y^e river, & is on y^e island opposite with our Indians.

30th.—Frightful was y^e rumours yesterday evening of our being attaked here, so that almost all our Indians went to lodge over y^e river; one requested to lodge in our house, which being granted, he went off. This morning Capt. Clayton by y^e Colonel's orders came to all of us store-keepers advising us to have our goods ready to be carried into y^e fort in case of an attack, which as he took me out & told me I acknowledged. The Indians report of a body of many Indians & French lying up y^e river & as I am not free to go into y^e Fort for protection, I am much exercised in mind, but toward evening got refreshed by quiet meditation & belief that y^e reports were in some respect in order to affright us, as many of them would rather have our room than company & knowing we were for many days out of flour it might have been a likely time to frighten us off. They proposed to go to y^e enemy with some Wampum to appease them. One company of Delawares & another of Shawanes warriors brought those reports, they seemed very saucy & I believe it was some of them killed y^e man yesterday.

7^{mo} 1st.—Last night altho' some moved with their goods into y^e Fort, yet we moved none. About y^e middle of y^e night hearing horses about y^e house & bells, on going out & asking who it was, was informed that Capt. Bull y^t went express was come & about 6 horses & men with flour; who left y^e party of 150 men & many horse loads of Flour & 16 bullocks 6 miles off. This command was to have been cut off (by y^e false rumors) about 20 miles from here & there was sent 150 men to meet them, who all came in safe this morning to our great satisfaction.

2^d.—Altho' there are many ways used to intercept our commerce, yet some comes to us from y^e original, not at second hand. Last night some of y^e bullocks

went off & there is a command gone after them. I wish them well back; y^e Indians have got liquor. George & Pisquigon & others seem very loving.

3^d.—We had some trade chiefly for Lead, as it has run more so of late than usual. They are set to work at y^e house for y^e Provincial Store. It's frequently reported by y^e Indians, & by some I believe in sincerity who wish us well, that there is a strong party of Indians, about 350, laying in wait on y^e road to cut off our supplies. An Indian called Kaykay's, who never used to go to war, and seems very friendly to us, says this morning, that y^e above number is out on y^e road & by accounts from Cuscuscug y^e French were gathering many nations, about y^e Lakes to root us out from here. Some of these nations were so barbarous that they give no quarter & y^e way they had killed 10 Delawares, that he intended to leave by going to Raystown when Capt. M^cKee went down. I like not staying here on account of those frequent rumours, & I find y^e Indians do not want us to remain here for I do not like to offend any persons, I mean y^e English.

4th.—There was a report today that y^e French has deserted Venango two nights ago. There were some great batteau stole down the Alleghany in y^e night y^e sentry shot at them, but they made no noise only passed along. This evening y^e Beaver King came here, his company fired three rounds & he was saluted with 5 cannon & soon after crossed to y^e Fort.

5th.—The Indian express arrived today from Ligonier & bring word of some men & provisions being ready for this place. We had some trade today & expect more tomorrow, y^e Indians I think seem to appear pleasant again & sing when they sit down, but for some time past a dark spirit seemed to rule.

6th.—Some trade this day but not so much as expected, but as Croghan gives higher prices and wants us to do so & is about to set prices, ye Indians are waiting until their treaties & Council is finished.

9th.—This evening a Council or Treaty being held, we were invited by Shingas to go & hear him speak good things, which he uttered with much zeal & loud voice. The speeches were first delivered by Croghan to Andrew Montour & he spoke to y^e Mingoës, then interpreted y^e substance to Shingas who sat by him & he spoke it very boldly to y^e Delawares. Some strings & belts were given on either side after y^e Beaver King made several speeches, but as I sat at some distance, I could not rightly hear all that was said in English by Croghan as he spoke but y^e substance was concerning y^e agreements at East Town [Easton] & how that if these would conform to y^e proposals of peace made to them, that they might depend that our people would fulfill y^e proposals made y^e Indians, & that he was authorised by authority to invite them together against y^e General came, but as he was delayed coming as soon as expected, that what he G. C. & Colonel Mercer would propose to y^e Indians y^e General & all y^e Governors of our Colonies would confirm & mention'd that it was expected they would deliver up y^e prisoners & that y^e intent of y^e army coming with y^e General this Summer was to build here a strong house to protect our trade with y^e Indians. As y^e French that left this place were moved but a little way up y^e river, & when y^e French might be gone or driven away, y^e trade could be safely carried on, that y^e General & Army would return home, & I think that mention was made that y^e King of England would protect y^e Indians in or confirm to them all their rights. After y^e Beaver King had made a speech & delivered a string of Wampum, which was all that was delivered on their side, he had two women prisoners, one he called his mother y^e other his sister, which he delivered up, signifying that they had adopted them as such, which he was not going to undo but would still look on them as such, but was delivering them up into y^e care of y^e white people from whence they had

brought them. At y^e last y^e Beaver spoke in behalf of y^e Indians, that as they had stopped y^e bung in our Rum kegs, so as to keep it from them, they were now for haveing y^e kegs kept open to their people, as well as ours, when they came, that they might have it to buy as well as others for they loved it. Andrew Montour loves it too, he thanked y^e Beaver King for his speech, which made y^e Indians laugh so hearty, that some of y^e young men could hardly stop. They were invited to a dinner y^e next day to eat together, which they did having an Ox killed for y^e purpose; there might be about 100 Indians in all, chiefly Delawares, of whom y^e Beaver, Shingas & Delaware George are chiefs, Pisquicon y^e brother of Beaver & Shingas', Teedyuscong, Windoughelow, Thomas Hickman & Killbuck are Counsellors of y^e rank.

10th.—The Beaver King brought us about £7. worth of skins & got 5 Strouds & some other things. He seems like a steady, quiet middle aged man of a cheerfull disposition, but low statue. Samuel Lightfoot read a letter of invitation & friendship to him, sent from Isaac Zane of Philadelphia, which y^e Beaver gratefully acknowledged & signified of coming tomorrow to tell us something. They dined with y^e Colonel, Croghan and others in y^e Council house erected up y^e river—from ours about 100 y^{ds}. For some days we have had so many alarms of y^e French & Indians coming to take this place, that we are in doubts the Indians hear false accounts, altho' there is a creditable account by Indians that is believed, that there have been over 350 French Indians with some French waylaying y^e roads for some weeks, 15 of whom were met by a Delaware man as he came to the Treaty. They had stolen 3 horses out of this Bottom one night & in y^e morning when y^e drum beat seeing a large Guard going out to relieve y^e sentries, they thought they had been discovered, set off home, not going to Venango on their return.

11th.—This day returned Kilbuck with 4 more Indians, who had been sent Express about four days since to Ligonier; they bring account of that place being attacked by a large party of Indians for y^e space of three days, in which y^e garrison had one Capt. Jones killed & one other man & a woman, but that y^e enemy got neither prisoners or scalps. The last command of men that came here with provisions is to set off tomorrow to meet another escort that is coming, these were detained here as we had divers accounts by y^e Indians that they expected this place to be attacked, which by their staying & y^e number of Indians that came here to y^e Treaty, our Flour is out & our meat very near.

12th.—This day y^e Colonel has issued orders for all of y^e Traders & others to appear on y^e parade under arms, & that they have all their skins & goods made into small handy bundles, that one man might carry them in order to have them in y^e Fort in case of an alarm.

13th.—This day orders issued that all our goods should be carried into y^e Fort, as y^e provisions are out & y^e milch cows to be killed tomorrow, in case of y^e enemy hearing of this & should attempt to take y^e place, that these houses must be set on fire, otherwise y^e enemy might shelter in y^e houses, which has been complied with.

14th.—This morning before we were out of bed y^e Sergeant Major came and told us that our houses must be pulled down, which was executed, only y^e house built for y^e Provinial Comissioners where y^e Guard is to be. We moved our goods in on y^e loft in y^e Colonel's house, so we are got to live in a tent again. We are out of bread, but some milch cows being killed, we had some meat & some Indian corn a little boiled for dinner. We do not expect y^e command to come with provisions under two days, & if they should be attacked & over-

come it seems that no less than a miracle can save our lives. The officers were all assembled this evening to conclude on defending in y^e best manner they could, as one told me after that they had certain account of fifteen hundred Indians & French coming to attack this place, which is now scarce of men & provisions. Late this evening came in a friendly Indian, a spy from Venango, with information that they had set out for this place & had come but a short way, when they were called back to go to reinforce Niagara, having just heard of that place being attacked, which favours us at present, but could not trust much to his report & told my friends I would not believe they would come until I saw them.

15th.—This day y^e men were kept very busy pulling down houses that stood in y^e glasis of y^e Fort & repairing y^e glasis and this evening came in some Indians who had been spying up y^e River & Capt. Jacob's son came here, as it was reported, to call y^e Delawares away, & it was reported that the spies had seen y^e French about 15 miles up y^e river, which made many wish they were at home.

16th.—The garrison goes on repairing y^e Fort & y^e milch cows are almost all killed for meat; y^e Beaver & Delaware George stay & many more who all draws provisions more than we do. Shingas is gone to meet our party which is expected very soon, we have heard of them by y^e way of Venango this evening. Several of y^e Indians who returned that went to meet our party report that they may be here tomorrow; they have brought some flour on their horses, but will let us have none. Shingas is come having brought 2 kegs of liquor, but has carried all over y^e river & this evening there is a great noise.

17th.—There came many Indians today, y^e command has not arrived.

18th.—This morning as we were at work a canoe

came down the Monongahela in which were three Mohawk warriors that came from a party a little above, to ask leave to come in here to encamp; on it being granted they came down y^e river in 7 or 8 canoes, being about 30 in number, singing & shooting their guns off. They have got two men & their wives as I imagine, one having a young child & a boy about 12 years old, prisoners of y^e Catawbias. One of them had been a prisoner before with y^e Shawanese, which Andrew Montour's brother had taken, who happens to be here now, & wants to get him to put him to death, but as he & his fellow prisoner have been last year in y^e English service, y^e officers & Croghan will endeavour to make intersession for him. He is said to have killed a Shawanese man's brother that is here & struck him twice with his fist on y^e eye or left side of his head, after they had made him sing & dance, & as he danced he related how many he had killed & of what nations. The captors have painted y^e prisoners & have made stocks to put him in at night. He killed y^e Shawanese man when he made his escape & brought off one Faint, who is here as Ensign, who was a prisoner at y^e same time with him.

19th.—Geo. Allen got to his house again, but y^e guard occupied it this night likewise.

20th.—This day we moved into Allen's house, but have not moved our goods.

21st.—Great noise shooting & hallowing here at y^e distress of y^e French in some place. Indian Peter came from Ligonier with letters; had his horse exchanged there & y^e one he brought happens to be y^e sorrel horse that strayed out of Israel Pemberton's service going y^e first trip to Redstone.

22^d.—This day y^e command returned to Ligonier & I had a long search for our horse this morning, but an Indian lad brought him in at last from y^e woods to ride him with y^e command, but I got him off. Today

Patrick Quin is set off homewards & Geo. Allen is taken sick y^e evening before last & remains poorly, & last evening Samuel Lightfoot taken with y^e Flux; he has taken physick.

23^d.—Samuel & Geo. remain very poorly, have applied to y^e Doctor, so that when our fear of y^e enemy is over in some respect, we are in danger of sickness, y^e weather being very warm. Geo. Allen got out of all patience this night, until I gave him 20 drops Laudanum.

24th.—Today our patients still remain bad, I gave Samuel some herbs boiled in milk, which for some time gave ease but after returned; he took a dose of Rhubarb of y^e Doctor. I remark in this place, that I have observed that y^e Indians are very jealous of y^e English coming here with an army; they seem jealous of their lands being settled, & y^e forenoon before y^e Treaty was held here, old Pisquitom y^e Beaver's brother & some others came to our house & y^e old man put it closely to me, to tell what y^e English or y^e General meant by coming here with a great army, reminding me that y^e Quakers always should speak truth & not lie, (y^e old man sometimes calls himself a Quaker). I answered Pisquitom, that as our people did not go to war, but was against fighting, we did not know y^e General's motives or orders in coming here, further than what we heard which we believed to be true, that they meant to drive off y^e French away & erect a strong house at this place, that we might be safer to carry on trade with y^e Indians, which y^e French wanted to deprive us of, & y^e English knowing themselves strong enough for y^e French, would not be deprived of trading by them, that when they were subdued, y^e army would be called away home, which he commended & blamed y^e General or English for being so slow in coming up, signifying in case y^e French came & retook y^e place, what could they do. I took it that they must join them but liked y^e

English advice of being at Peace better than y^e French always setting them on to war. I also observed in this place one Daniel, an old Indian who called himself a Quaker, one night that they seemed to expect y^e enemy & all of y^e Indians were going over y^e river out of y^e way, Daniel wanted to borrow a gun of us to fight in case we were attacked, but we put him in mind that Quakers do not fight, that we did not intend to fight, so would not lend our friend a gun, for fear of breaking orders, for he said he could fight & be a Quaker too.

25th.—Samuel & George still bad. Several Shawanese came today, they hold a Council.

26th.—Last night George took about 30 drops I gave him of D^r Paschal's Arcanam, that assisted his stomach. To night the Doctor said he could not be worse; sent him a small brown powder, which George was afraid to take, but happened well without it. Samuel remains bad, he took six bouleses of Specifick Vegetable yesterday, & today has a decoction of y^e same powders boiled in $\frac{1}{2}$ gallⁿ water to 1 Qu^t ζ iii Loaf Sugar, infused in y^e whole. I dreamed last night I saw y^e fields all ripe & y^e reapers a reaping & going to reap, which seemed pleasant to me.

27th.—Samuel remains bad & I cannot leave him, as he does not hire a nurse I cannot get to worm our skins.

28th.—There came an Indian in from y^e party thats coming, he brought Lightfoot two letters, one from our employer which gives account of more goods coming, about 4 wagon loads.

29th.—I am taken amiss myself, with symptoms of y^e Flux; I got one of y^e men nurses of y^e Hospital, to come to tend Samuel.

30th.—I got some soldiers to help me this morning to worm skins, altho' I am not well. Samuel is so weak I think he will not recover. This evening about 5 o'clock, Samuel Lightfoot departed this life, being somewhat light headed towards y^e last.

31st.—We buried Samuel Lightfoot very Quietly. Having no liquor all who went to y^e grave behaved sober & seemed concerned; more would have come had they known y^e time, but we asked only a few & about 30 or 40 came, as burying a dead man is thought but a light matter at garrisons. I applied to y^e Sergeant Major to get his grave dug where y^e soldiers are buried, which he got almost finished, but y^e Colonel hearing of it, sent me word that he expected that ground would be all broken up or improved by building a new fort, so I got another made along y^e bank of y^e Monongahela & buried there.

8^{mo} 1st.—I am very poorly with symptoms of y^e like disorder as Samuel had, I believe occasioned by y^e smell in tending on him.

2^d.—I have written to my employer of my circumstances & Samuel's death.

3^d.—Last night there was two Highlanders taken off their posts, y^e body of one is found & y^e two Tawas that killed them was met by Thomas Hickman a little way off, who gave two death hollows as he described them; they had been here & kindly used.

4th.—I have been worse yesterday than since I was taken, and as I lay on my bed today in y^e loft, meditating in deep humility & silence of my mind, endeavouring to petition for some longer time in this World, in order to get home to see my mother, brother & friends, or else if this was not granted me, that my accounts might be overhauled, & divers were in my mind endeavouring to settle with my judge & requesting that thro' mercy my passage might be made easy—I fell into a slumber on my back, my face looking upwards, I beheld in a dream or vision, y^e appearance of a glorious person over me like toward y^e firmament, y^e attire of his head looked bright & a shineing star on his forehead, & he was looking at me with a sedate aspect so I awoke & was refreshed & ready to say, Thou Lord Sees't Me!

5th.—Thro' great mercy I have been very easy all night & my pains are almost gone; y^e weather very warm.

6th.—There are about 30 Picks come here, & we hear from Niagara that it is like to be taken by General Johnston.

8th.—The Colonel told me yesterday he thought it not necessary to lay out a place for a house for my employer, as he believed y^e General would take y^e remnant of our goods & that y^e store would not be continued.

9th.—I got some help today to worm y^e skins that had been wormed before, but as I told them they should have to be wormed soon again. Many of them are spoiled, and it is with great difficulty I can get any help, all are so employed. One man, being an old acquaintance of mine named Hugh M^cDonnald, who belongs to y^e Artillery, is very willing to assist me at all spare times when off duty & Lieut. Wright of y^e Train, relieved him of duty, that he might assist me in all he could but by y^e Colonel's orders its now put out of y^e Lieutenants power, but still he helps me when he can, which is great kindness in Lieut. Wright also. Lieut. Sumner, of Virginia, & Capt. Clayton, from y^e Jersies, & Ensign Hutchins, of Carslile, were all singular in kindness, spareing Rum or Sugar, altho' very scarce, in mine & Samuel's sickness, also Lieut. Hidler of y^e Train, & little Doctor Johnson.

10.—Wormed skins until y^e heat of y^e Sun got too strong, being hurtful. In y^e afternoon helped Ensign Hutchins to take y^e course of y^e rivers & y^e hills from y^e Point at y^e old Fort, as also y^e width of y^e rivers, but by y^e time we were done it made me something unwell again, being still weakly.

13th.—This day y^e Indians bring intelligence that y^e French have lost Niagara & that they have burnt Venango & Presque Isle & gone off.

14th.—Letters came here by a command that came in

today, that Tyconderoga is taken by y^e English, also its believed currently that Niagara is taken, & that y^e French have left Venango and Presque Isle & burnt them, so there has been many rounds, as they call it, fired & shouting for joy, but many of y^e Indians seem more sober, their practice of singing & dancing was remarked to have ceased last night on y^e island, but y^e Picks camp up y^e river was rejoicing as usual. At night it was said that Colonel Mercer now speaks plain English to them concerning stealing horses, which they made a great practice of.

15th.—I hear y^e Colonel has given orders to y^e soldiers to shoot any Indian that they see stealing any of y^e King's horses. I think they have stolen y^e horse I had here, as he is gone & I cannot hear of him.

16th.—Today y^e wagons & y^e Highlanders are gone; there is gone likewise in one wagon privately, three prisoners viz. Jn^o Gray's wife taken from Bigham's Fort at Tuscarora; a girl by y^e name of McCord, taken about 1½ years ago from Swatara, & a boy of y^e name of Lowery, from Canochochique. I got help today to worm skins, it being cloudy & cool. Some of them being spoiled for want of worming, about y^e time Samuel was taken sick.

17th.—Came in a command today Capt. Tulican with many bullocks & some Sheep. Its reported that y^e Sutlers are to have no more provisions, by orders from y^e Commissary & General.

18th.—Came another party with many wagons with flour & sundries. I received a letter from my employer of y^e 14th last mo. & one from my brother, they being brought from Ligonier by Ensign Hidler, of y^e Train, as also y^e prospective glass & y^e Wampum. Before I saw y^e 20 thousand of Wampum Geo. Croghan saw it & kept it, sending for me to go to him, & knowing his proceedings I went not until he sent for me y^e next day & found he had opened it, but that it was all there, not

being exchanged, being very good. He told me, that my employer had wrote to y^e General that he might have it if wanted, & that y^e General had wrote so to the Colonel or to him. I told him I had no such account from my employer & had no other thing now to deal with only a few small goods (as I did not believe him), so he began to swear he would keep $\frac{1}{2}$ of it for y^e King's use, let y^e consequences be what it would; as he delt none on his own account I might be paid in skins or furs out of y^e King's stores as we bought them of y^e Indians. So he took ten thousand & let me have y^e other. Hugh Crawford coming to get two of my Strouds for an Indian on Croghan's account, owned & said that Croghan had goods of his own here.

20th.—Croghan has a black eye this morning & I have been informed, that he was drunk & fought with y^e Indians, & that Teedyuscung gave him y^e black eye, for y^e said Teedy came to our house in y^e night, being very drunk & made a noise at y^e door often calling for y^e Quaker, but Geo. Allen threatened him, pretending he knew not who it was, so he went off. I think y^e Wagon Master saw y^e boxing with Croghan, as he told me. This day are come a party from Virginia of great Sutlers, brought some cattle & sheep. I received a letter from W^m Joliff, signifying that he would not take my horse.

21st.—This day I was to have pay in Beaver for y^e Wampum that Croghan got, but he put me off until to-morrow, being very busy. One of y^e wagon drivers that came from Virginia, being out hunting his horses, was killed & scalped. Its reported that there have been ten Tawas about here this while past; many horses are lost, eight together taken off or gone. I have used much endeavours to get y^e skins down by Cumberland in these sutlers' wagons or y^e other road in y^e King's wagons, but to no purpose.

22^d.—Its reported that y^e Indians have stolen within

these few days to y^e value of £150 of horses, that y^e Delawares own their people to have taken them, yet they cannot get their young men to return them as yet, altho' they promised it last night. I had a large Bear skin stolen & another split with a knife.

23^d.—I have applied to y^e Colonel to get my skins into y^e old Magazine & he agreed, and he told me he would place a sentry over them tonight, seemed very kind, asking me to sit down & drink tea, he & Lieut. Wright going to breakfast, but I acknowledged his kindness & excused myself. Croghan has paid me 83^{lb} of Beaver for my 10,000 Wampum (which he seized before I seen it) @ 7/6, as I would take no other pay, neither set it down in y^e account, having some other accounts to settle in which he fell some in debt, & if he bought it at 10/ pr. lb. himself its turned y^e penny, now he has sent for more of my Wampum & other things before he paid me, but I refused all his orders, except Colonel Mercers.

24th.—It was this day I had y^e grant of y^e old magazine in y^e old Fort, & set a man to make a door for it, as y^e Colonel cannot venture to let y^e skins go down in y^e King's wagons. They have set to build a saw mill on y^e other side of y^e main river, down in sight of y^e Fort, being on y^e South side & there are 9 saws going in one pit at y^e old fort.

25th.—I had a very hard days work getting y^e skins into y^e old magazine, having none to trust, but as Benedict minded them while I went down to receive them, having to come up to see them loaded, or else they would tumble them into y^e river by setting y^e bundles to run down y^e bank.

26th.—I had to over haul some of y^e skins today that got wet yesterday, as rain came on before we got them all in. By what I can learn, there has been some Indians killed lately nigh y^e camp, they being found stealing horses, & two of y^e Virginia wagons that was re-

turning home, were a few miles off, y^e geers being cut & two horses left in one wagon; one soldier has found on Grant's Hill, a little way off a French like coat, blanket, a pouch & three bells with bell collars.

27th.—This day came here about 100 horses loaded with oats chiefly; I received two letters from my employer of y^e 14 & 16 of last month, y^e latest sent by Patrick Quin. I settled with Geo. Allen concerning our provisions, as we have lived together since he came & got our bread together & not drawing Flour enough I fall indebted to y^e baker y^e sum of 35 lb. of Flour, he being to bake at 3/ pr ° I having had y^e bread for so much more than I delivered Flour. I measured a fish, being a Pike, & it was four feet long and weighed 20 lbs. y^e inwards being cleaned out.

28th.—A Buffalo Fish caught weighed about 30 lb., y^e scales being larger than Pennies.

29th.—This day y^e General arrived here with his Train & set of music—he was very plainly dressed & seems not proud. Many bullocks & other provisions arrived.

30th.—We have some trade again today & my Bearskins goe off. Cap^t Gordon fancying a pouch I had of an Otter skin, much worn, I made a present of it to him, upon which he bespoke two Bearskins of me.

31st.—I found some marks this morning as if some one had attempted to pick y^e lock of y^e magazine where y^e skins are, also to pry y^e door open. There are parties going off today to Ligonier & Cumberland, but I have no prospect of sending y^e skins, there being none trusty enough to take y^e Charge of them & none but King's wagons going, as I have orders it's not my business to apply to y^e General concerning them if in case I had a safe hand to undertake y^e care of them or could go myself, I might venture.

9^{mo} 2^d.—About 40 Tawas come today, likewise Thomas Kilton & Crampton is come with y^e Comissioner's

goods, having 70 horse loads. I understand y^e General proposes to hire them to carry y^e King's goods from Ligonier to this place.

3^d.—I helped Geo. Allen to receive his goods being 70 horse loads, as Benedict was so poorly that he could not assist.

4th.—Today came here a Brigade of Wagons from Virginia, by which I received a letter of y^e 14th of last mo. from my employer, giving directions how to proceed. I had engaged Kilton to take as many of y^e skins as he could.

5th.—Was very busy in drawing & settling accounts.

6th.—Agreed with a Sutler to have my skins taken in wagons to Cumberland @ 26/8.

7th.—The wagons being ready in y^e evening, I had been making an invoice of y^e goods & drawing y^e accounts, when done I went to weighing y^e skins & marking y^e bundles, so got y^e bundles all in y^e wagons, only 20 Elks skins which Thomas Kilton is to take if he can, y^e wagons went out about 2 miles in y^e night on their road. I had much to do to get the debts that was owing, some of which I left for Col. Mercer to try to recover, viz. a note upon Ensign James Gorrel, for 45/, another on Lieut. West for 7/6 & another account of 14/ against Ensign Harper, y^e two latter for Bear skins, y^e former for a saddle & bridle. Now I miss Samuel, y^e care & burthen falling on me, being y^e weakest.

8th.—Col. Mercer let me have some lines to Croghan, to have y^e goods inspected last night, but Croghan being in bed he promised to send Capt Trout this morning. We viewed them & took y^e names in y^e invoice of drivers, without counting them, as he thought y^e General would take none but such as he would recommend to be fit for y^e Indians; so after y^e viewing them we went both to y^e Colonel & he made his report indifferently, saying that there were many things that

were of no use to y^e Indians. I told them that there was a considerable quantity of valuable articles, as y^e 10,000 of choice Wampum, y^e Powder & that as paint was of no real service to them, so all y^e goods might do for presents y^e Colonel asked whether y^e quantity was there according to y^e invoice, to which he said Yes, y^e Colonel said he would acquaint y^e General, who might use his pleasure, so y^e General agreed to take all but our tents, insisting they were to high rated. The General chose to write to my employer about y^e prices. The Colonel paid me y^e soldiers accounts & y^e General let me have three notes of £25 each, upon a merchant in Philadelphia, in order to pay Woodrow for hauling y^e skins to Cumberland; so I set off this day about one o'clock. (Writing in y^e woods by fire light.)

9th.—Having hired a little creature at 18^d pr day to Cumberland & run y^e hazard of loosing it, we came to y^e lowest fording of Monongahela (going through Braddock's Field) in y^e evening & there being a great rain two nights before, raised y^e river so as we could not cross with small creatures without swimming, which we did not chuse, I having y^e books & papers with me. Being in company with Richard Vernon & four other men, we agreed to take round along y^e path y^e pack carriers used to go, so we made along & came soon on a well-trod path intending to come up with y^e wagons that night, but getting into bottoms about Turtle Creek, could hardly get along, so encamped that night.

10th.—Set off soon next morning keeping y^e same path most of y^e day, thinking it would bring us to Guest's place, finding many warriors encamping places, being their path. When about 35 miles along it by computation, y^e course altered from about a South East more North or El., so we set our course S. W. through y^e woods, arriving at Guest's place. Coming on y^e Heads of Sweeglars Creek & Salt Lick, we took up four fat chunks of horses, which Vernon took into his care

promising if no owners were found, that we should go equal shares. He sold two of them after to y^e wagoners at £12.5/, two of their company taking y^e other two at £14. One of our company, one Derr was so stiff as to part with us, when we left y^e path & was obliged to return again, who came up with me & y^e wagons on y^e 13th inst by y^e Upper Crossing of Youhoghany he coming on y^e road (as he told me) about 10 miles below y^e Lower Crossing. We lodged in y^e woods this night at a warrior's encamping place. I was so concerned about y^e charge I had in y^e wagons, fearing y^e skins got wet, I could not sleep but little.

11th.—Set off this morning & abo^t noon came to Yough^r & soon on y^e Road. About three miles below Guest's Place came up with y^e wagons, betwixt Dunbar's encampment & y^e Meadows, where I understood they had put some of y^e bundles into y^e King's wagons informing that some were wet in y^e river. I made them stop by y^e Meadows & spread y^e skins to dry that were wet, one bundle of Bear skins being almost rotten 10 of which was so rotten I cast away. While they tarried, I set off after y^e King's wagons, having y^e Generals orders to y^e Master, to help us along if we had occasion, but being almost out of provisions & informing me that he dried my skins that got wet in his wagons, but would not stay for us, I returned to y^e other wagons.

12th.—This day we stop'd by y^e Great Meadows & I followed y^e King's wagons.

13th.—Came to y^e Upper Crossing of Yough^r y^e wagoners insisting that their teams would not be able to hold out to y^e next good pasture, which is by little Yough^r, I agreed to tary here tomorrow, it being good pasture & hunting ground.

14th.—We lay by here today & being a fine one I opened such of y^e skins as I judged wanted air, uncovering y^e wagons & turning y^e rest of y^e bundles to y^e Sun, promising y^e wagoners a quart of Rum at Cum-

berland if I could get any there for helping me. Y^e South Branch of Pottomock people are in droves along y^e road, going to Pittsburgh, some with flour & some with corn oats butter cheese &c. The day I overtook y^e wagons, I met Col. Burd of Penn^a & a party with wagons & pack-horses going to y^e mouth of Redstone Creek to build some storehouses, in order to have y^e carriage on this road to go from thence down y^e Monongahela to Pittsburgh, old Cressap being their pilot. Here came one Sthalmaker, going out with flour from y^e Branch to whom my deceased friend Samuel Lightfoot had lent his old Horse & 20s. of Cash last winter. The man came to me & owned both, but had neither at present, so I ordered him to pay y^e money to & leave y^e horse with W^m Joliff, near Winchester. Derr that was lost with us in y^e woods, lost his pocket book a little way from here this morning as he set along y^e road & being found by Sthalmaker he delivered it to me to keep for Derr, having 32/6^d of Cash in & many papers that I did not look into; next night he lost his horse. I let y^e wagoners have 1 quart Rum bought on y^e road, cost 5/.

15th.—We came to little Yough^r met a man going with liquor to Redstone, also a small party of soldiers with some bullocks.

16th.—We came to George's Creek within about 12 miles of Cumberland. It rained y^e most of y^e way. I only brought about 5 lb. bread from Pittsburgh & two Neats Tongues, which were exhausted by y^e time I overtook y^e wagons.

17th.—It rained most of y^e night, but had a good day & came into Cumberland; got y^e skins unloaded into a store without lock or key, having no other to get, y^e house we had before, being an Hospital for y^e small-pox y^e Store House is y^e Ordinance Store under y^e care of Major Livingstone.

18th.—Being a fine day I had most of y^e skins opened & those that were not in need of opening had y^e bundles

out to air, y^e skirts of some being wet with y^e rain & many wet in y^e foldings, which needed to be sun'd, so Capt. Woodward command^r let me have four Camp Color men to help. Employed Adam M^cCarty & Jn^o Slater to make y^e skins up into bundles. The horse that was left here of ours is sent to Bedford & entered into y^e King's service.

19th.—Began at y^e opening & worming such bundles as were not opened yesterday, & making up fit for wagon carriage. I was obliged to give y^e wagoners 1 quart Rum for letting me have bisquet on y^e road, my provisions being out.

20th.—Came Jn^o Trotter about noon to help to make y^e skins up & Jn^o Mickle with two hands more & 12 horses, so we got loads made ready for them.

22^d.—Finished bundling & weighing y^e skins, y^e whole weight being 39^{lb} less here than at Pittsburgh, weighing there 9025^{lb}, & here 8986^{lb}. I paid Major Livingstone & Capt Battle y^e sum of £115. 9. 8. for y^e carriage here stoping 20/ for y^e carriage of 11 Bearskins being rotten.

23^d.—I set off to seek for wagons, and came that night to Piersalls Fort, on y^e South Branch of Pottomack, where I heard that Richard Vernon failed in getting me wagons. I was well satisfied for I expected to get them cheaper myself—I stayed here this night.

24th.—I set off this morning to Corkingdals Fort, being only about 6 miles from Piersalls & about 40 from Cumberland, where y^e Corkingdals agreed to find wagons to take y^e skins to Philadelphia at 29/6 pr ^{cwt} but could not be ready before y^e next week. I stayed there that day, they being very kind being low Dutch.

25th.—I set off down to Hopewell to W^m Joliffs, some accounts being unsettled with him & came that night to Joseph Edwards, on Cape Capon, no inhabitants being along y^e road about 30 miles; lodged here this night, cost me 1/3 Virginia money.

26th.—Proceeded along, old Edwards accompanying me about 10 miles. Came to my Friend Jessie Pews, where I fed my horse & dined, then proceeded to W^m Joliff's where they seemed glad to see me.

27th.—Went in company with W^m Joliff to Joseph Edwards, to see how he might be employed to go with his wagon to Philadelphia, but not meeting him at home we returned I intended to have gone to their meeting, but was something unwell, so I stayed at Joliffs, where Edwards came, but could not agree with him.

28th.—I set off to Joseph Lupton's about a mile beyond Winchester, he having a good team, but found he would not be hired as cheap as W^m Joliffs, having no prospect of a back load; from thence I went to Joseph Smith's about 21 miles up toward y^e South Branch, stayed there that night.

29th.—Proceeded as far as Piersalls Fort, about 40 miles & stayed there that night.

30th.—Being y^e first day of y^e week, went about 6 miles up to Corkingdals Fort, where I had engaged some wagons, but one of y^e men being took sick, one axeltree being broke in one wagon, & not any but 2 engaged, I broke off with them as I believed I could hire cheaper about Winchester. I met Stahlmaker & sold him Samuel's old horse that he had lent at York last winter for £4 Virginia money; got 20/ also he lent him, sold him y^e bell & collar off my own horse for 6/ & he setting off for Winchester I returned with him & employed him, as he was going out to Pittsburgh to carry out there y^e things which we had lying at Cumberland for £3. 10. Virginia currency. He was to use y^e pack saddles to carry loads out on them. We came in y^e night to Joseph Edwards 36 miles.

10^{mo} 1st.—Came 10 miles to Joseph Smith's, got breakfast & oats for y^e horses, and reached to Winchester. I met Joseph Lupton, went with him home, he being inclined to send his team to Philadelphia with a load.

2^d.—Lupton after tarrying all night concluded he might venture to let his team & driver go at 9/6 Virginia currency pr diem & I to find y^e man & team in provinder & food & likewise pay y^e ferryages. I told him I must agree to his terms if I could do no better, so I took leave of him & came to W^m Joliffs who agreed to y^e said terms.

3^d.—Agreed with W^m Joliff to have 12/6 pr. day to Cumberland & back, he finding all things for y^e journey. Set off to Joseph Lupton's to conclude with him. I am to pay him y^e sum of 9/6 pr. diem & find y^e team 5 pecks of oats & good pasture or hay at night for every whole days driving & in proportion for any part of a day & to be discharged at Philadelphia.

4th.—Joseph Lupton & Charles Perkins have agreed to y^e said terms, only as Lupton knows of no back load, is to be allowed ten days to return home if he goes, but not thinking his own wagon sufficient, had y^e offer of another cheap, but delaying buying it another man got it, so now we are disappointed until he tries for another, having concluded to be ready to set off next Second Day may be longer. I am imformed by Joseph Lupton that he saw a negro boy that lives not far from this, about four years old, born of black parents who is of a brighter white color than y^e white people are, having white short curel'd hair like lambs wool.

5th.—I got ready this morning & went to Winchester to see for some wagons that wanted back carriage & Lupton also went to see one who was to meet me in town, but by y^e time he came I had got an agreement made with W^m Bausman, of Lancaster, for his team. Lupton got no wagon as it turned out.

6th.—I went to Winchester & from there to y^e Collector's 6 miles farther & got a permit to pass thro' Virginia, so I set off for Cumberland, leaving word for y^e wagons that we should return down Sir John's road by W^m Joliffs I came to Jesse Pew's & bought of his

daughter-in-law 23^{lb} of cheese at 6^d, as I am to find two of y^e wagoners provisions after we return to Joliffs.

7th.—Set off from Pews & reached Cocks' on Potomack. I lay on a damp earthen floor, on some corn fodder, y^e house being unchinked or daubed & no door; had my horse in their orchard.

8th.—Set off in y^e morning a heavy fog being along y^e river; got one foot a little wet crossing y^e river; came to Cumberland that evening turned out my horse in y^e Bottom.

9th.—Taken with a strong fever & cold fits. Put up with Tho^s & Alex^r Blair, two moderate young men and y^e Commissaries having no nourishment, only cold water & wine, I sent for Capt Battle, being chief in command & delivered what money I had to him, being more than £29, also my saddlebags with y^e books & papers. He sent to Bedford for sugar, tea & chocolate for me, y^e Doctor persuaded me to take some medicine & I took a vomit & got Jn^o Slaters wife to tend me. Here I lay on y^e boards, only some Bearskins under me y^e space of two weeks. I moved down to Jn^o Slater's where his wife attended me & I lay some better, where I took sundry things of y^e Doctor, which under Providential mercy I believe afforded much help. While sick my horse was taken & rode by Capt Wright to Pittsburgh & y^e man that I hired y^e creature of at Pittsburgh coming here & his creature being lost then, made me pay what he said it was valued £5, however, I found both creatures since I recovered my sickness in some degree. I paid Slater's for my lodging & nursing £1.7/; y^e Commissary's lad for tending me there 5/; y^e Commissary for a hide 12/; M^cCarties people for milk 7/; a Sutler for liquor £1. 1. 6.; M^cCarty & Slater for overhauling y^e load of skins that was left so as to have y^e account of them separate 5/. My friend Jessie Pew, from Hopewell, came to see me whilst I was bad, but now my brother Charles came from home, to see whether I was dead as he had heard.

17th.—So we got ready on y^e 17th 11^{mo} & set off from Cumberland, came to one Plumbs & stayed all night.

18th.—Crossed Potomack, being very high, so that y^e water got in our boots & came to Enoch's, stayed all night.

19th.—Came to Jesse Pews; I was exceeding tired riding and stayed there.

20th.—It was wet this morning; we stayed here to rest today & my friend Samuel Lightfoot [Sen.] came here to meet us.

21st.—We came to W^m Joliffs, & his brother James came this evening from Cumberland, having brought y^e skins that were there.

22^d.—It froze smartly in y^e night & y^e wind blew very high. We came to William Hall's by Potomock, near Harper's Ferry.

23^d.—Proceeded over Harper's Ferry and came that night to Frederick Town.

24th.—Came to Tho^s Butlers, 35 miles from Frederick Town, being a moderate day, my friend Samuel Lightfoot with us.

25th.—Came this evening to York, and being much tired put up at Joseph Chambers.

26th.—Being a wet day we stay at York this day. I bought a saddle & bridle & left Jn^o Mickle's that I had borrowed.

27th.—Came to Lancaster and put up at Sandersons.

28th.—Came to Hamilton's Tavern on Wilmington Road, stayed all night.

29th.—We set off thinking to reach home, but before I came to Buffington's Tavern, I got very chilly & coldish like, where I got some milk & water to drink, but was taken very sick vomiting & shivering with cold. Went to bed about noon & lay until next morning, when I was so well as to start for home; y^e like sort of fits with a fever, affect me every other day since.

11^{mo} 8th.—My mother joyful to see me.